Vol. X, No. 29 HUMAN EVENTS July 22, 1953

THE SOVIET CENTRIFUGE

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

WHENEVER ANY RIFT between Washington and London appears, or between either of these two capitals and Paris, the self-anointed opinion formers of our press become apprehensive. There must be unity at any cost among the "freedom-loving" nations. And more likely than not they will adduce in support of this unity thesis a quotation from Stalin: "The inevitability of wars among the capitalistic countries remains."

Back of this emphasis on unity is the fiction that the enemy is united; it is assumed that within the USSR there is perfect harmony, that all the peoples within the realm are held together by an ideological and ethnical homogeneity. Against such a foe, it is implied, it is dangerous for the Western allies to engage in even minor quarrels.

Yet, there is no proof of the assumed solidarity within the empire dominated by the Soviets. On the other hand, long before the recent uprisings in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, inklings of disunity behind the Iron Curtain were easy to detect in the news that came through. For instance, when Stalin died, the strident call for unity in the Soviet press and radio simply underscored the fact that the Soviet Union was not overburdened with harmony. The funeral orations of Malenkov, Beria and Molotov significantly bore on this unity theme. Malenkov declared, "In the history of the development of human society and the national question, Comrade Stalin, secured, for the first time in history within the frontier of a huge multi-national state, the liquidation of national strife." Nevertheless Stalin's criminal heir, echoed by the other triumvirs, was quick to make the important point that "we are not afraid of any internal or external enemies".

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The average American reader — for whom the Soviet Union is simply and erroneously Russia — probably missed the full significance of this colossal pretense. Except for a few of the better-informed, our columnists, commentators and official representatives were generally no better off in understanding the purpose and meaning of this pure propaganda gesture. For years our Communists, fellow-travellers and pseudo-liberal professors have been peddling this myth of multi-national fusion achieved by Stalin, so that many of our prominent "opinion-formers" seem unaware of the profound disunity which really exists. Other sects of Russia First have contributed to this false concept of the Soviet monolith by suggesting a basic homogeneity of population and culture with such groundless slogans as "peoples of Russia" and "the Russian peoples".

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
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THE CALL FOR UNITY at Stalin's funeral, with its heavy emphasis on multi-national harmony, was essentially an attempt to perpetuate and fortify in the outside world the myth of monolithic Soviet power. Its aim was to conceal further the foremost weakness in the structure of the Soviet Union — namely the potentially explosive forces of the vast Soviet centrifuge. Not by the wildest stretch of the imagination did Stalin succeed in resolving this basically international problem which renders the entire framework of the Soviet Union tenuous and fragile.

Since the inception of this forcibly contrived Union in 1923-24, unending tension and struggle, marked by bloody revolts, mass insurrection and underground resistance, have characterized its existence. So much so that eventually Stalin was compelled to resort to the diabolical policy of national genocide — as a means for "the liquidation of national strife". It is noteworthy that since Malenkov uttered this phrase over the bier of Stalin, new purges have been staged in the capitals of almost every non-Russian republic from the Baltic to the Caspian Sea. Less trusted quislings are being replaced by Russian satraps, sent by Moscow to oversee the captive non-Russian peoples and nations which constitute the explosive Soviet centrifuge.

To understand these developments and the nature of the Soviet centrifuge, the reader must familiarize himself with certain fundamentals of ethnology, history and politics that govern the realities of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The first and most outstanding fact is that the Soviet Union is not a nation, but rather a political arrangement which by conquest and force was imposed upon formerly independent nations and states that today are striving to maintain their separate cultures and different historical traditions. In short, the Soviet Union is not identical with Russia. In addition to the Russian nation, it consists of a large number of captive non-Russian nations, each of which constitutes a threat to the shaky structure.

If Poland, for example, should be formally annexed to this thing called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it would represent a further nominal addition to the non-Russian nations already held captive within this prison and cemetery of nations. The same may be said of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and all the other so-called satellite countries. Indeed, quite consistently, this might be projected in a series of conquests to include our own United States if the Soviet totalitarian dream of a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, centered in Moscow, were to be realized.

If this should happen it would be merely an historical repetition of the tragedy that befell the Baltic states in 1939-40 and the independent Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Azerbaidzhanian and Turkestanian states in 1922-23. America, too, would

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have its native quislings under the direction of satraps dispatched by Moscow, as is the case now throughout the entire Soviet Russian empire. History is not a nebulous complex of accidental events. It also provides unfolding patterns of human experience and lessons for the still free nations to profit by.

IN THE EARLIEST PHASE OF Soviet imperialism, which was launched almost at the very birth of Russian Bolshevism, the groundwork of the present Soviet centrifuge was laid. The non-Russian nations, and later the Baltic countries, were subdued and forced into the Soviet Union. They were "unified" by compulsion. On the basis of careful study of the 1939 Soviet census, a recent governmental population analysis reveals that of the estimated total population of 202 million in the USSR, over 54 per cent, or 110,500,000, are non-Russians. In fourteen of the sixteen Soviet republics the overwhelming majority is non-Russian.

This disclosure should cause little wonder. According to Lenin before the days of padded Soviet statistics, in "Tsarist Russia the Russians constituted 43 per cent of the total population, i.e., a minority, while the non-Russian nationalities constituted 57 per cent". Thus it appears rather foolish to refer to the 6 million Balts, 3 million Georgians, 10 million Byelorussians, 3 million Azerbaidzhanians, 1 million Armenians, 30 million Moslem Turkestanians, 10 million North Caucasians and 40 million Ukrainians as "Russians" or as "minority nationalities". The stubborn fact is that these are nations, like Poland, Hungary or any other now under the yoke of Moscow, with their respective histories, cultures, traditions and aspirations.

You may hear it stated that there are actually 179 national groups in the Soviet Union. A more accurate statement would contain the term national groupings, for these are the products of Soviet classification. Although it is true that this number of units exists, most of them are small tribal groups rather than nations in the accepted sense.

With the exclusion of the approximately 91 million Russian nation, well over 90 per cent of the non-Russian population in the Soviet Union is distributed among the few national entities cited above. This substantially exceeds the total population of the five compact satellite countries in Central Europe. When it comes to geographical size, Turkestan alone is three times the combined areas of Great Britain, France and Germany. Ukraine, which is the largest non-Russian nation in the Soviet Union, as well as behind the European Iron Curtain, is as large as a united Germany in square miles. If the Soviet structure were to collapse, the liberation of these nations would give rise to a number of sizeable states.

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FOR THE KREMLIN this non-Russian periphery of the Union has been a constant source of trouble. Ceaseless charges of "bourgeois nationalism", "cosmopolitanism", and "intrigues with Anglo-American imperialists" have failed to obscure the driving, invincible will for national freedom and self-determination on the part of these restive and intensely patriotic non-Russian peoples. The uprisings of 1929 and 1930, the purges of 1935 and 1937, the mass desertions of World War II, and the passive resistance today in the republic of Georgia, furnish the centrifugal pattern characteristic of each of the other non-Russian republics. Underground Ukrainian insurgents alone have accounted for over 35,000 liquidated officers of the MGB and the MVD — Russia's secret police forces — since 1945.

When opportunity affords it, the full power of these centrifugal forces at work in the Soviet Union will wreck the entire edifice. The prime example of this promise came in the past war with the voluntary mass surrender in 1941-42 of over two million Ukrainians and other non-Russian soldiers to fight against Moscow for the independence of their countries.

How to ignore the lessons of history, and pay for it, is lucidly illustrated by the German correspondent, Erich Kern, who recounts what he witnessed in his book, *The Dance of Death.* He writes: "The steady flow of Ukrainian volunteers for the German forces we ignored. . . . The millions of Ukrainians, who by themselves could have turned the scales in the east, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned. . . . Police methods were replacing the great and splendid idea of the liberation of the east. In place of national independence and freedom the bit was being drawn tighter." "Squandered Chances" is the apt title of the chapter in which this appears. "Political insanity" is how he mildly characterizes German blunders in the area of the Soviet centrifuge.

The Soviet call to unity is nothing more than a shroud of fraud and fear. At Stalin's funeral Mr. Molotov underlined this fact when he wistfully said that "In the course of those years the Soviet multi-national state, which became an example of the practical realization of friendship and fraternal cooperation among the peoples . . . grew strong." With the growth of our knowledge and understanding of the Kremlin's chief problem this sort of oratory will hardly conceal the fact that the USSR is nothing but a centrifuge, ready at all times to split up.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

Vol. X, No. 29 Wednesday, July 22, 1953 Washington, D. C.

What Price Resistance: Little is said about it publicly, but Government economic experts place much weight privately on the tremendous economic loss suffered by the Soviet Union as a result of the revolt in Eastern Germany, the disturbances and political troubles throughout the land of states which line Russia's European frontier. These countries — particularly East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia — had been producing and pouring goods (both consumers and producers goods) into the Soviet heartland for some years. Not only the spectacular strikes, but the innumerable instances (we are assured by excellent sources) of "slow down" in the factories of these Iron Curtain countries have taken their toll in sharp reductions of exports to Soviet Russia. This slow-down process is still going on.

The cancer from which the Moscow regime has suffered has been the decline in industrial productivity. This has many causes, but principally it is the dominance of the politicians over the industrial experts, with consequent demoralization of the latter. This is the opinion of various students of Russian economy. And they can perceive — better than others — the reasons why the Malenkov-Molotov regime is afflicted with internal disorders, which increase in intensity as they develop along the edge of the Russian imperial area, as in East Germany.

All this goes far towards explaining why the Big Drive (as we described it last week) is on to save the Soviet Union. As we have mentioned, Churchill leads this extraordinary procession, for the more American economic help Russia craves, the greater the commissions which "honest broker" Churchill can obtain from wealthy Uncle Sam. Next in line is the powerful Communist network, as usual swinging behind itself the more powerful forces of collectivism of all sorts. (This also explains why the drive to destroy McCarthy has been so frantically stepped up. For McCarthy's revelations — note his charges this week of British contraband trade in China — might politically hamper if not block this campaign to save the Soviet Union.)

The final, the ultimate and underlying reason why the true picture of Russia's economic productivity is not being presented is interesting. Indeed, one of the marvels of these hot days is the reverse picture being officially given out: that Russia's economic power is growing, not declining. One of the laughs of the last weekend was in the juxtaposition of two news stories: (1) from Eddy Gilmore, A.P. correspondent in Moscow for many years, now returned to the West and proclaiming that Russia is "under stress and strain"; and (2) stories from the State Department claiming that Russian economic strength is increasing.

Those who are behind the scenes here say that the latter claim is supported by a "phony national estimate" which is based on distorted statistics. Why is this picture distorted? Because Administration leaders fear that the American people will become "lax" if this truth is told and will not support the big requests for appropriations for "foreign aid" which are now up for crucial votes on Capitol Hill.

McCarthyism: A lot of people in this torrid town have been rubbing their eyes and remain a bit aghast at the latest "capers" (to use a "whodunit" term) of the anti-McCarthy dervishes. In the first place, many have had the time to peruse Mr. J. B. Matthews' famous piece in the *American Mercury* and have discovered that he did not attack Protestantism itself, or Protestants in general, or the Protestant clergy as a whole — as the anti-McCarthyites have sought to give the impression. Matthews specifically exempted the vast majority of Protestants, churches and clergy and pointed out — what had often been noted before by many Protestants — that a small minority (Matthews estimated 3 per cent) of the Prot-

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estant clergy had been Communists, fellow-travellers or dupes. Thus, the anti-McCarthyites successfully smeared Matthews and caused him to resign from his job — without a hearing, be it noted. Today, the House Un-American Activities Committee promised to give Matthews a hearing later, and no one here doubts that he will be able to document the charges he made.

But how was the smear — that Matthews libelled the whole Protestant clergy — "put over"? Mr. Joseph Alsop, a columnist as close to the White House today as he was close to Roosevelt and Truman, wrote a piece on July 13, claiming that some of President Eisenhower's aides cleverly inspired the dispatch of an anti-McCarthy telegram, censuring McCarthy, by the three clergymen, who composed the Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This wire sent to Eisenhower referred to a "sweeping attack on the loyalty of Protestant clergymen" and the President in his public reply to the wire referred to a condemnation of "a vast portion of the churches and clergy" — which is just the opposite of what Matthews said. There have been no persuasive denials from the White House of this picture as given by Mr. Alsop.

If the Alsop story is absolutely true, then — say many here — it is up to the three clergymen of the National Conference of Christians and Jews — one Protestant, one a Jew, one a Roman Catholic — to correct their statement in their wire and to disassociate themselves from the sordid political trick which drew them into such a communication. And it is up to the President to correct and clarify the meaning of his words in reply to the clergymen.

For the real victim of this extraordinary affair has not been Senator McCarthy (whose polemical talents have sent him further ahead) or even poor Mr. J. B. Matthews, who will undoubtedly clear himself. The real victim has been the good name of the Protestant clergy itself — widely slandered, not by McCarthy or Matthews, but by political schemers in Washington who — as the police say — "pulled a caper".

Not Merely Gossip: When the ailing Senator Taft first entered the New York hospital a month ago where he has been undergoing treatment, he was surprised to receive a message, via the hospital operator, that Governor Thomas E. Dewey would like to call on him. Feeling ill and tired, Taft sent word asking that Dewey phone the next day. Again, the following day, came another request and Taft, still indisposed, was about to ask the operator to call Albany and express his regrets. To his surprise, he discovered that Dewey was calling from "downstairs" in the hospital. Accordingly, he asked the Governor to come up to his room. Dewey and Taft then had a very cordial chat. Dewey's visit to Taft was later announced in the press.

Those who have noted the incident believe it is significant of Dewey's intention to run for President in 1956. Either he believes that Ike will retire — so the speculation goes — or he thinks he can take over the leadership of the GOP, if Ike's popularity wanes. Meanwhile, the Governor would like to try to "sweeten" relations with Taft and the Taft wing of the Party.

● Last week, the Soviets angrily charged that we had dropped subversive leaflets from our airplanes on Red airfields in East Germany. Officials here are puzzled, do not believe that any of our planes have been permitted to make such flights. But it is believed that psychological warfare units have been sending eastward balloons to which are attached bundles of anti-Soviet propaganda. This is an indication that some measures to encourage the Eastern Europe revolt are being taken.

Probe of Foundations: A real investigation of left-wing penetration of tax-free foundations seemed likely this week after approval by the Rules Committee of a House of Representatives measure along these lines. The Representative behind this proposal is Carroll Reece (R., Tenn.) former National Chairman of the Republican Party and long time Taft adherent.

Reece points out that a similar probe was held under the last Democratic Congress, but that it

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turned out to be "too soft". This is a rather gentle description compared with others which termed it a "whitewash". The fact is that its chairman, Eugene Cox (D., Ga.) was ill during its work and died before the probe was wound up, while the group's counsel proved timid and inexperienced. It is hoped that the Reece body will prove quite different and far more aggressive. The Tennessee Republican wants to go thoroughly into such institutions as the Rockefeller, Ford, Guggenheim and Carnegie Foundations. Reece talks of a looming campaign among the Foundations to "discredit and challenge the investigative process of Congress in its efforts to ferret out subversive activities". Judging by the jittery reactions from left-wing circles, Reece must be on the right track.

The Soviet Disunion: Dr. Dobriansky (whose piece we run in another part of this week's issue) testified before a Congressional hearing last week and raised the question of minority populations in Soviet Russia. The Georgetown Professor accused Mr. George D. Kennan, State Department authority on Russia under Truman, of making the mistake of considering the Soviet Union as an integrated state instead of a group of several different nations, in which the majority of the population is not Russian. Dobriansky says the State Department, influenced by Kennan's ideas, failed to realize the power of "non-Russian nationalism, hostility and resistance to the Soviet Union".

The Georgetown scholar urged adoption of a resolution introduced by Representative Lawrence Smith (R., Wis.) for extension of U.S. diplomatic relations with the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Dobriansky says the Smith measure is a "medium of the American peace offensive against the Soviet peace defense", aimed at penetrating the "steel curtains" surrounding the Ukraine and Byelorussia and "at making contact with those two most restive and strategic areas in the Soviet empire". Dobriansky recalled that we were "pitifully asleep" when the East German outbreak occurred and he called on the U.S. to prepare for unrest and dissension throughout the entire Soviet Russian empire.

Gold: An effort to undo the repudiation of gold by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934 has been set in motion by Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who last week introduced "The Gold Redemption Act of 1954". The date is interesting. It underlines the purpose of the bill, which is, as the Senator says in his news release, to institute "committee hearings on the measure to bring all the facts before the public and to pave the way for a return to the gold standard when the proper time for such action arrives". In short, it is an exploratory bill.

Twenty years of unlimited "counterfeiting" — which is what gold repudiation introduced — is very difficult to stop; our economy is adjusted to the process of gradual and constant inflation, and to stop the whittling away of the value of the dollar would be jarring. Just as stopping the use of narcotics plays havoc with the addict, so an economy based on inflation is likely to be upset by the restoration of a sound dollar, even though the ultimate results must be salutary. Senator Bridges, calling upon the promise of the Republican 1952 platform "to restore sound money freely convertible into gold coin" in support of his bill, recognized the difficulties involved in immediate restoration, and seems to be urging his bill as a "softening up" measure.

What makes restoration difficult, as the Senator hints in his release, is the habit of deficit financing which the government has acquired during the past twenty years. Can the government learn to live within its income? That is what convertibility will compel it to do.

Revolts in the West: So long as the "local level" is on the alert, the task of those who would use our educational system to promote socialism will not be easy. Two recent instances of such resistance are in the news.

The "Indiana PTA Members Study Group on Federal Aid to Education" is campaigning against the latest attempt to edge the Federal Government further into the schools. Its attack is on the "Hill Amendment". This amendment to the House Tidelands Oil Bill, introduced by Senator Lister D. Hill of Ala-

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bama, provides that all Federal revenues from mineral rights shall be used for educational purposes, including "aid to general education". A joint Senate-House committee will meet shortly to consider the bill. The broadside of the Indiana group urges that the proposed amendment be opposed, on the ground that "Federal subsidy inevitably leads to Federal control", and points out that the Indiana Assembly has memorialized Congress to act against Federal aid programs.

Another instance of local jealousy of its school system is reported in the *New York Times* of last Sunday. The Los Angeles school board, reversing an earlier decision, rejected an offer from the Ford Foundation of $335,000, to finance "a program of emergency teacher training". The *Times* describes the opposition as a "vociferous minority" of "ultra conservatives". The two members of the board who led the movement for rejection were Mrs. Edith K. Stafford, a former teacher and a mother, and Mrs. Ruth D. Cole, active in the parent-teacher association. The point they used to effect rejection of the offer was that "sole discretion" over its administration would be in the hands of Dr. A. J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools. Dr. Stoddard is known as a strong proponent of "progressive" education and an active advocate of UNESCO, which in the minds of many is synonymous with leftism. Officials of the Ford Foundation have publicly, and financially, put their blessings on UNESCO, and that fact made their offer of a grant suspect. With the support of the Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express*, the two ladies spearheaded a successful movement for rejection of the grant.

Richberg: *Obiter dicta* from a speech delivered by Donald R. Richberg, Professor of Law, to the University of Virginia Institute of Public Affairs on July 10:

"The purpose of this forum, as I understand it, is not to conduct a 'witch hunt' nor to indulge in the doltish pleasure of denouncing 'witch hunts'. The last notable witch hunter in America, Cotton Mather, died in 1728, repentant of his earlier follies. Since that time 'witch hunting' has been only a malediction hurled at public investigators by people who do not like to be investigated.

"There may be historical significance in the fact that Cotton Mather was defeated as a candidate for the Presidency of Harvard and that he was invited to become President of Yale, but declined. Both institutions have since become so allergic to 'witch hunting' that recently even reports of imaginary 'witch hunts' have produced epidemics of ruddy rash in Cambridge and New Haven. . . . There are Congressional investigations and inquiries which extend into violations of rights of privacy, and sometimes become persecutions of individuals, to which I am strongly opposed. Speaking to you as a lawyer who fought such abuses of power by the Buchanan Committee all the way to the Supreme Court, where the Committee actions were unanimously condemned on March 9, 1953, let me assure you that I never denounced the persecution of my client as a 'witch hunt'. I am deeply suspicious of the good faith or intelligence, or both, of those who try to argue a serious issue with anathemas and name-calling, such as 'witch hunts' or 'McCarthysim'. . . .

"It is one of the ironies of the hour that some of the most violent protests against political investigations of educators have come from those who, even though entirely loyal to their country and its free institutions, have played a strong part in advancing social and political policies which, if widely adopted, would soon make the political control of education far-reaching and disastrous. Although political attacks upon educators have evil consequences, this ill wind may blow some good if the vast majority of American educators are thereby persuaded that they do not want the educational, or business, or social organizations of the American people subjected to political controls and made to conform to political moralities."

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